2: Becher--271 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái
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Ill. 12. Surára warriors

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Ill. 13. Surára warrior before shooting an arrow

Ill. 14. Poréhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái, in festive adornment

2: Becher-- 272 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Shiriana
Karauateri
Pusehewéteri

/7/

Ill. 15. Surára family. (The woman is a member of the Pusehewéteri and wears the characteristic fringed belt of this tribe)

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Ill. 16. Xiriána woman, Ironasteri, with deforming facial adornment

Ill. 17. Nikeromá, a girl of the hostile Karauateri. (She is a captive of the Surára)

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Ill. 18. Nikeromá (rear view!)

2: Becher--273 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára

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Ill: 19. Yaxoíma, daughter of the war chief of the Surára, with characteristic facial tattooing

Ill. 20. Yaxoíma (left) and Rokoahíma, two Surára girls

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Ill. 21. Jibeauwõ, my little interpreter (right), and Mauahemá (two orphan boys from the tribe of the Surára)

Ill. 22. Two Surára boys. Xaniwõ (right) and Mauahemá, who holds a monkey bladder between his leg

2: Becher--274 E-S (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/9/

Ill. 23. The Surára boy Xaniwõ

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Ill. 24. Pakidái woman, Riopemí

Ill. 25. The two oldest Surára women: Rokomá (right and Cinapemí

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Ill. 26. Hammock of embira

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Ill. 27. Liana hammock

Ill. 28. Plaited hammock of cotton

2: Becher--275 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 29. Pakidái woman with baby in a cotton hammock

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Ill. 30. Sleeping place for young dogs ("dog bed")

Ill. 31. Pakidái Indian making fire

2: Becher--276 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

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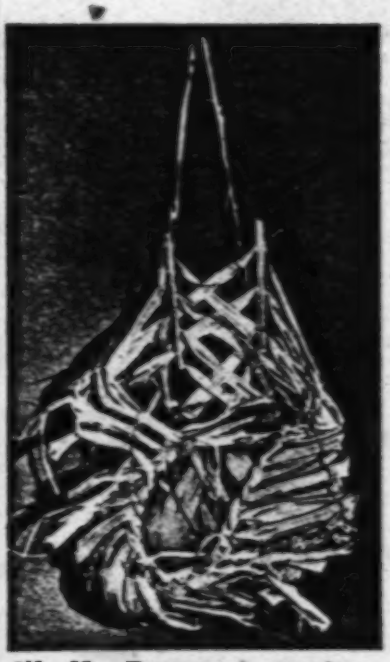
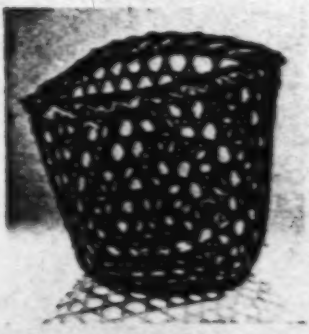


Ill. 32. Temporary carrying basket of palm leaves



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Ill. 33. Carrying basket of bast strips from the curáuá plant

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Ill. 34. Woman's large carrying-basket made of liana strips

Ill. 35. Surára woman plaiting a woman's large carrying-basket

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Ill. 36. Small basket with handle, made of liana strips

2:Becher--277 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 37. Surára forest clearing in a circle around the large, open maloka

Ill. 38. The Surára chief Hewemao doing field work. He is holding a digging stick in his left hand.

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Ill. 39. Climbing a pupunha palm with the help of climbing apparatus

Ill. 40. Porêhiwõ, war chief of the Pakidái (right), and my guide, Mateus Dias, a pure-blooded Tukano Indian from the upper Rio Negro. A Pakidái youth is squatting in the background.

2: Becher--278 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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Surára
Pakidái

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Ill. 41. Pakidái Indian with tobacco roll between lower lip and teeth.

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Ill. 42. The Surára and Pakidái men assemble during the festival in memory of the dead for the ceremonial drinking of the banana soup which is mixed with bone ashes of deceased members of the tribe.

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Ill. 43. A dance of the Surára warriors. (Chief Hewemão is sitting at the left in the foreground.)

2: Becher--279 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

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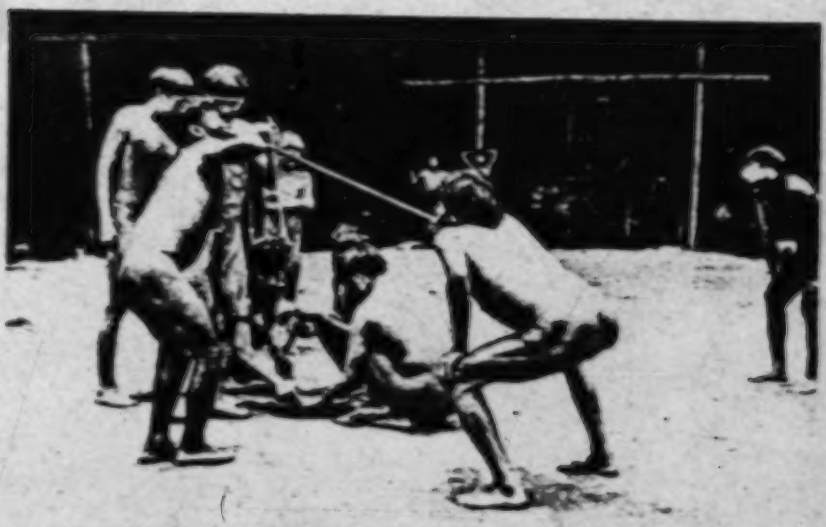

Ill. 44. Surára and Pakidái men blowing snuff-powder into each other's noses

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Ill. 45. Beginning of the state of ecstasy after the taking of the snuff-powder

4: Wilbert--64 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Nabudub

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Nabudub Indians in front of their house, an imitation of a Makiritare house.

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A Nabudub (Sanemá) nuclear family in front of its house.
The hammocks are of vegetal fiber.

Nabudub

4: Wilbert--65 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Sanema

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Nabudub (Sanemá) women and children.

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Nabudub couple seated on hammocks of cotton made by the woman.

4: Wilbert--72 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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The author with a group of Sanemá on the upper Ventuari.

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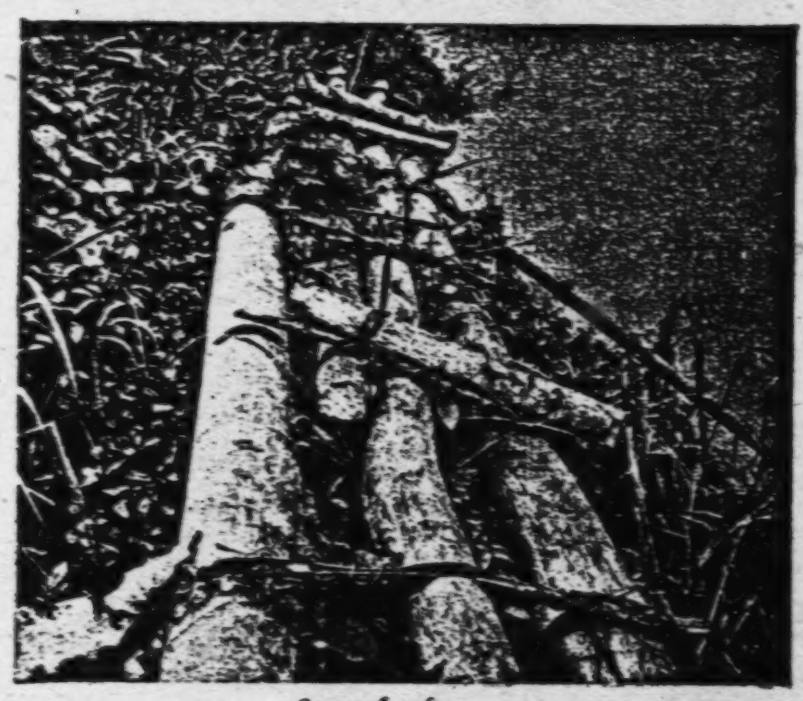

Sanemá raft.

4: Wilbert--73 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

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Group of Sanemá women and children of the upper Orinoco. In the background the wall of a communal house of the Makiritare Indians.

4 Wilbert--74 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ
Sanema

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Group of Sanemá Indians of the upper Ventuari in their house. The girl (standing) is wearing ornaments of white feathers.

4. Wilbert--75 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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Sanemá Indian of the upper Ventuari preparing the shaft of an arrow, using a typical "knife" made out of a rodent's tooth mounted on a small stick.

4: Wilbert--78 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica

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Waica family of the upper Orinoco.

Courtesy: Luciano Scamuz

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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15. *Crabs make a tasty dish!*

16. *The fourth type of Sanumari - the girlish.*

17. *The 'bad type' - playing a whistle made from a deer's shin-bone. Note the tribal signs on his stomach*

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[p. 96 - E]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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18. *Pancho makes his oars at home: the final smoothing stage.*

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19. *Enrico and Pedro make a good catch in the Mari.*

[p. 96 – F]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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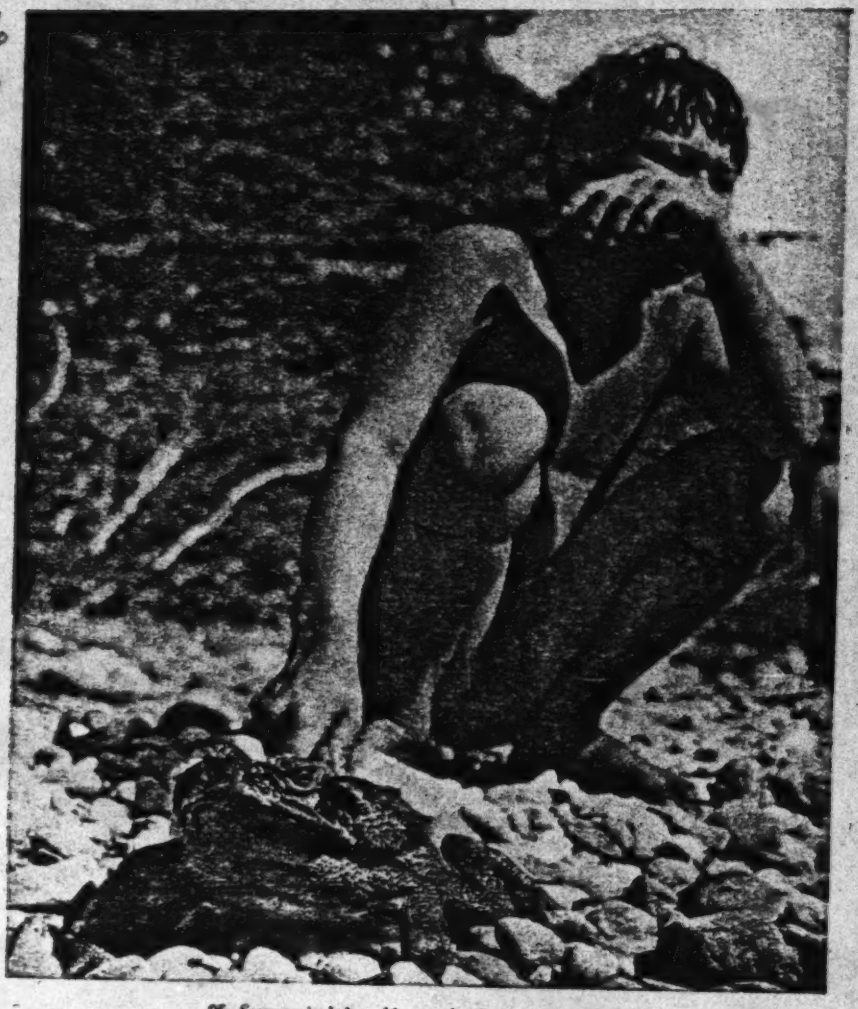

25. Sempronio brings his grand gift - a poisonous toad!

[p. 144 - 3]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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32. *A mouth-organ concert: the Sapuli children, the two brothers and the Captain's wife.*

33. *The elder of the brothers has a troubled, cloudy look.*

34. *Sad days for Carmine.*

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[p. 144- H]

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanoma

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25. Dalfyne were pale and handsome.

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26. A typical primitive: a man of good will, ugly as he is.

[p. 192-A]

o: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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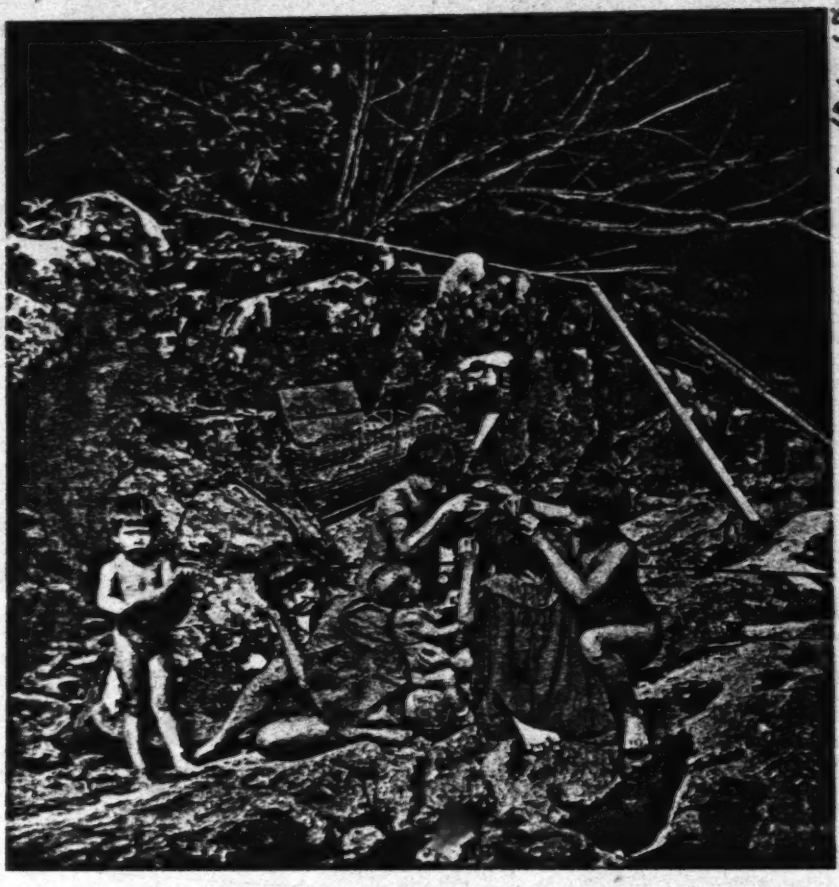

50. *While the men brave the falls, their women-folk pause for hygiene.*

[p. 192 - H]

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

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361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

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Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

291
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The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior, El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

8: Barker--11 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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Mr. James Barker, in Mahekodotedi, accompanied by a group of Guaica Indians. (Photo Frobenius Expedition, 1954.)

8: Barker--16 M-5 (ca. 1951-1956) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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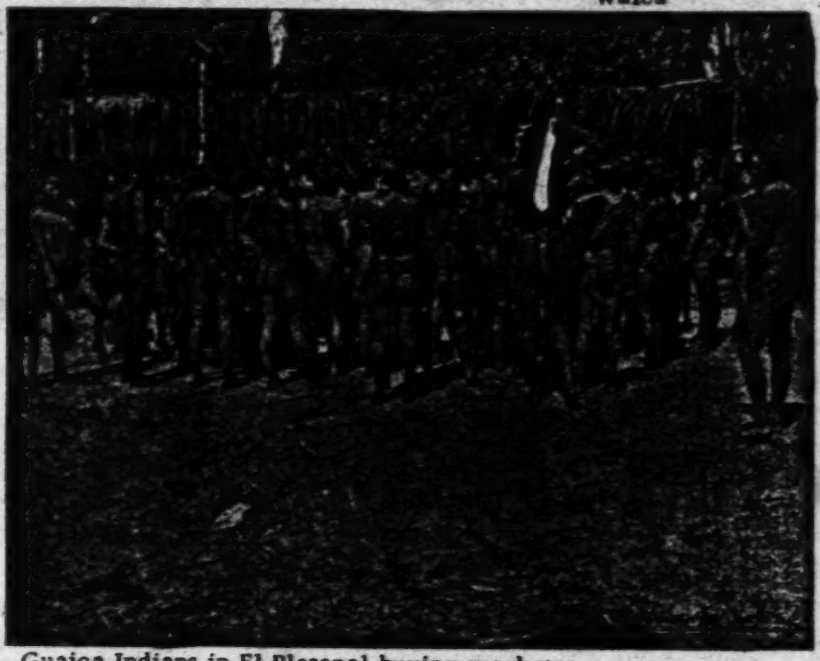

Guaica Indians in El Platanal buying machetes.

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A group of Guaica natives surrounding James Barker.

%Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama Sq. 18

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TOP: One evening, thirteen Guaharibos from the Padamo arrived. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM LEFT: Guaharibo Indian. Notice the length of his bow and arrows. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

BOTTOM RIGHT: Guaharibo woman. (*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 64-B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica
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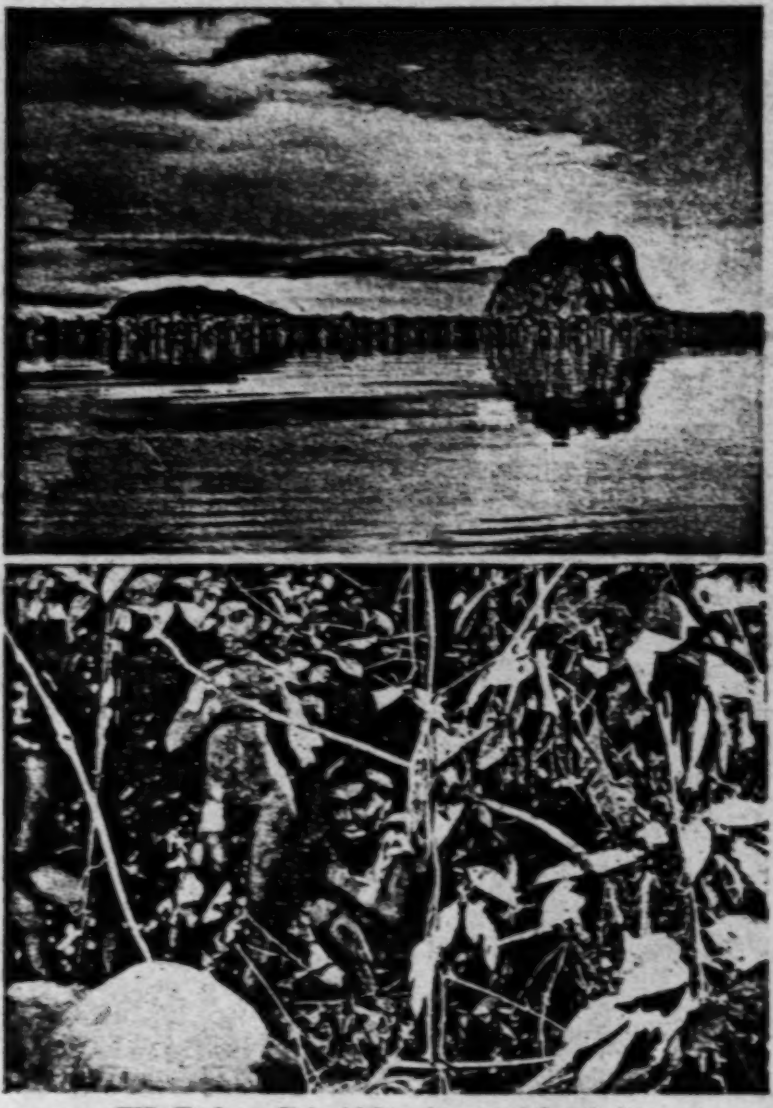

TOP: The famous Piedra del Cocuy juts upwards from the forest.
(*Photograph by H.M. King Leopold*)

BOTTOM: The first Waikas appear between the trees and hail us.
(*Photograph by J. Grelier*)

[p. 96 - B]

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica
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Waika Indian of the "Pleasant". (Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)

[p. 112-A]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

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Waika family of the " Platanal ". *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

[p. 112 - B]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama Sh 1
Waica

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TOP: Women of the "Plateau". Notice the household goods. The two types of hammock are clearly shown. *(Photograph by H.M. King Leopold)*

BOTTOM: Swapping. The little things we brought excited curiosity and greed. *(Photograph by J. Grelier)*

[P. 112-C]

[P. XVii]

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Visitors waiting in village circle for hosts to invite them "home" (described in Chapter 4).

Shaman (carrying club) chanting to Hekuva (demons) while curing a patient (man sitting in foreground). Patient later died of malaria (described in Chapter 2).

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[P. XVIII]

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Clay pots and banana (plantain) pealings; preparations for a feast (described in Chapter 4). Note quantities of plantains hanging up and on the ground.

Mamo-teri man shooting at a wooden dummy (in hammock) in a mock raid. They left on the actual raid the next day (described in Chapter 5).

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 1 : Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

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way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

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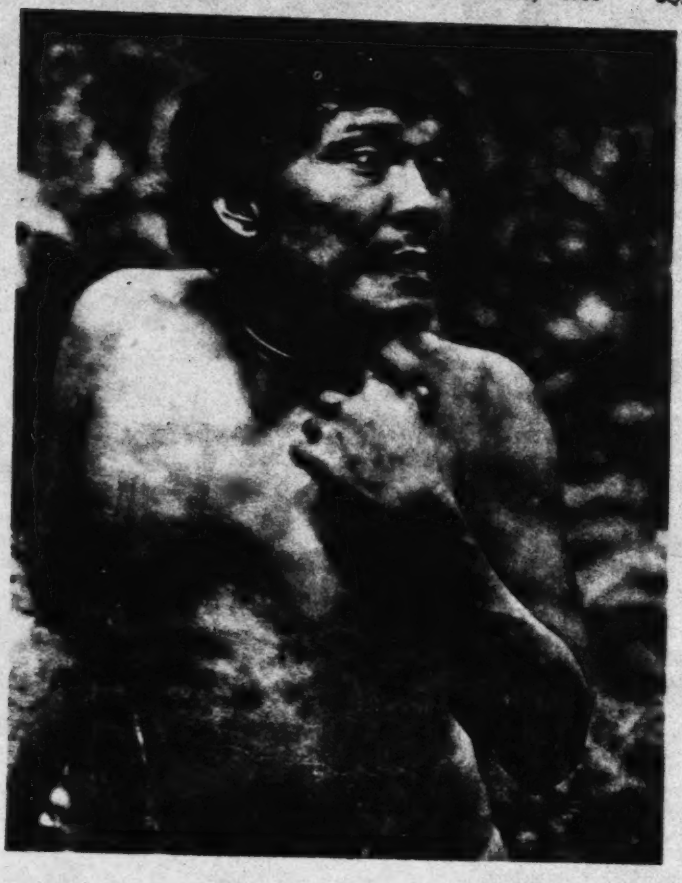

Fig. 1-3. Kąobawä, the wise leader, listens to identify a strange noise in the jungle.

I spent a good deal of time with these two men and their families and got to know them well. They frequently gave their information in a way which related themselves to the topic under discussion. We became very close friends. I will speak of them frequently in the following chapters, using them as "typical" Yąnomamö, if, indeed, one may speak of typical anything. I will briefly comment on what these men are like and their respective statuses in the village. 114 123 124

Kąobawä is about 40 years old (Fig. 1-3). I say "about" because the Yąnomamö numeration system has only three numbers: one, two, and more-than-two. He is the headman of Upper Bisaasi-teri. He has had five or six wives so far and temporary affairs with as many more women, one of which resulted in a child. At the present time he has just two wives, Bahimi and Koamashima. He has had a daughter and a son by Bahimi, his eldest and favorite wife. Koamashima, about 20 years old, recently had her first child, a boy (Fig. 1-4). Kąobawä may give Koamashima to his youngest brother. Even now the brother shares in her sexual services. Kąobawä recently gave his third wife to another of his brothers because she was beshi: "horny." In fact, this girl had been married to two 115 [802] [595] [837] [835]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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other men, both of whom discarded her because of her infidelity. Kąobawä had one daughter by her; she is being raised by his brother.

Kąobawä's eldest wife, Bahimi, is about thirty-five years old. She is his first cross-cousin (see Glossary). Bahimi was pregnant when I began my fieldwork, but she killed the new baby, a boy, at birth, explaining tearfully that it would have competed with Ariwari, her nursing son, for milk. Rather than expose Ariwari to the dangers and uncertainty of an early weaning, she killed the new child instead. By Yąnomamö standards, she and Kąobawä have a very tranquil household. He only beats her once in a while, and never very hard. She never has affairs with other men.

Kąobawä is quiet, intense, wise, and unobtrusive. He leads more by example than by threats and coercion. He can afford to be this way as he established his reputation

Fig. 1-4. Kaamakima, Kąobawä's youngest wife, playing with her son, who is holding a tree frog.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1–5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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"Razor grass"—a reed—also grows wild in the jungle. It is used by the Yąnomamö to cut their hair and to keep their tonsures cleanly shaved. A sliver of this reed is wrapped around the index finger in such a way that the sharp edge is exposed. The practiced hand can shave a head bald in a matter of minutes and with no more pain than would come from using a dull steel razor blade. This grass is also found around some of the villages, but appears not to be cultivated.

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HALLUCINOGENIC DRUGS Another useful plant provided by the jungle is the *ebene* tree. The inner bark of this tree is used in the manufacture of one kind of hallucinogenic drug. The bark is scraped from the trunk after the exterior layer of bark is removed, or is scraped from the inside of the bark surface itself. This material, which is fairly moist, is then mixed with wood ashes and kneaded between the palms of the hands. Additional moisture is provided by spitting periodically into the pliable wad of drug. When the drug has been thoroughly mixed with saliva and ashes, it is placed on a hot piece of broken clay pot and the moisture driven out with heat. It is ground into a

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Fig. 2-2 Women fishing in a dammed stream that has been poisoned by the juice of a wild liana. The poison is introduced upstream by the men, and the stunned fish are collected in baskets by the women.

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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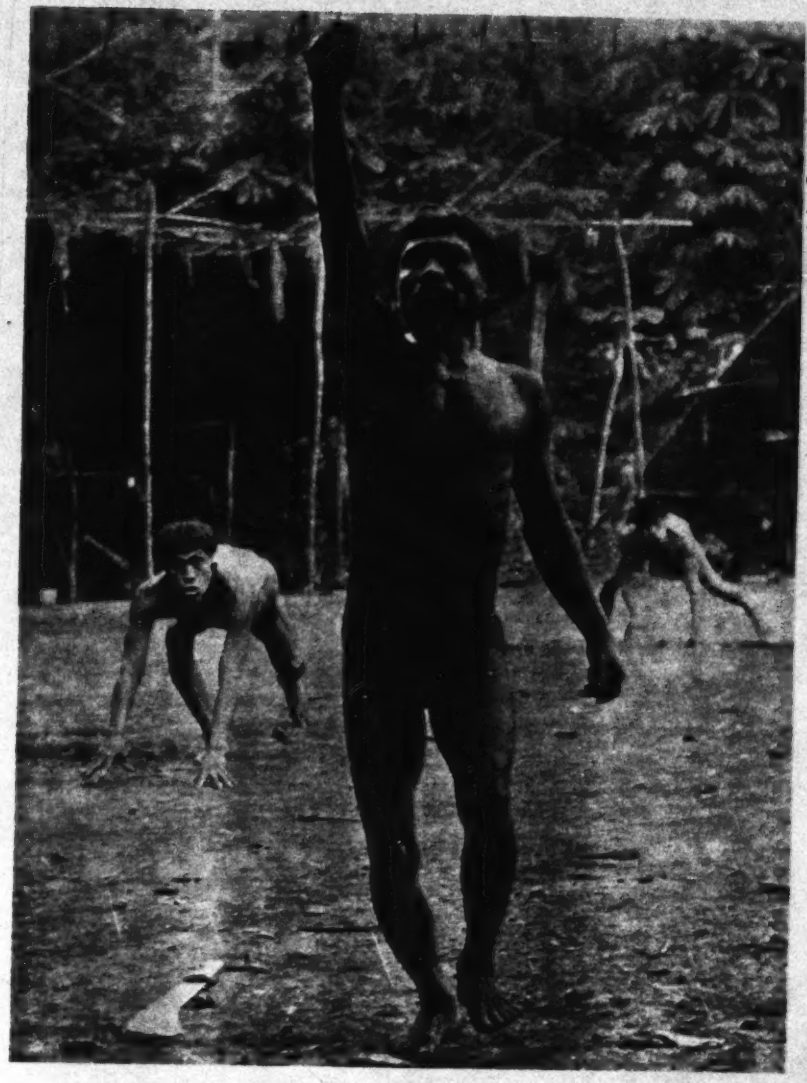

Fig. 2-9. Three shamans in a drug-induced chanting to their hekura*—demons.*

The ashes of the deceased are consumed in order that the living will see their departed friends and relatives in *hedu*. Members of allied villages show their friendship to each other by sharing, in the ashes of particularly important people, in a very intimate act. Endocannibalism, to the Yąnomamö, is the supreme form of displaying friendship and solidarity.

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

When Kąobawä's group travels, Ariwari emulates his father by copying his activities on a child's scale. For example, he erects a temporary hut from small sticks and discarded leaves and plays happily in his own camp (see Fig. 3–7). His sisters, however, are pressed into more practical labor and help their mother do useful tasks. Still, the young girls are given some freedom to play at being adults and have their moments of fun with their mothers.

But a girl's childhood ends sooner than a boy's. The game of playing house fades imperceptibly into a constant responsibility to help mother. By the time a girl is ten years old or so, she has become an economic asset to the mother and spends a great deal of time working. Little boys, by contrast, spend hours playing among themselves and are able to prolong their childhood into their late teens if they so wish. By that time a girl has married, and may even have a child or two.

A girl's transition to womanhood is obvious because of its physiological manifestations. At first menses (*yobömou*) Yąnomamö girls are confined to their houses and hidden behind a screen of leaves. Their old cotton garments are discarded and replaced by new ones manufactured by their mothers or by older female friends. During this week of confinement, the girl is fed by her relatives; her food must be eaten by means of a stick, as she is not allowed to come into contact with it in any other fashion. She must also scratch herself with another set of sticks. The Yąnomamö word for menstruation translates literally as "squatting" (*roo*), and that fairly accurately describes what pubescent females (and adult women) do during menstruation. Yąnomamö women do not employ tampons; they simply remain inactive during menstruation, squatting on their haunches most of the time. After her puberty confinement, a girl is eligible to begin life as a wife and take up residence with her husband.

Males, on the other hand, do not have their transition into manhood marked by a ceremony. Nevertheless, one can usually tell when a boy is attempting to enter the world of men. The most conspicuous sign is his anger when others call him by his name. When the adults in the village cease using his personal name, the young man has achieved some sort of masculine adult status. Young men are always very touchy about their names and they, more than anyone else, take quick offense when hearing their names mentioned. The Yąnomamö constantly employ teknonymy when a kinship usage is ambiguous. Thus, someone may wish to refer to Kąobawä in a conversation, but the kinship term appropriate to the occasion might not distinguish him from his several brothers. Then, Kąobawä will be referred to as "father of Ariwari." However, when Ariwari gets older, he will attempt to put a stop to this in an effort to establish his status as an adult. A young man has been recognized as an adult when people no longer use his name in teknonymous references. Still, the transition is not abrupt, and it is not marked by a recognizable point in time.

Finally, the children differ from adults in their susceptibility to supernatural hazards. A great deal of Yąnomamö sorcery and mythological references to harmful magic focuses on children as the target of malevolence. Yąnomamö shamans are constantly sending evil spirits (*Hekura*) to enemy villages. There, they secretly attack and devour the vulnerable portion of the childrens' souls (*noreshi*), bringing about sickness and death. These same shamans spend an equal amount of time warding off the dangerous spirits sent by their enemies. Children are vulnerable because their souls are not firmly established within their physical beings, and can wander out of the body almost at will. The

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 4–1. Kaobawä, headman, unpacking some of the meat his hunters have just collected for the feast.

111 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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giver would apologize for its defects. If it were a particularly poor item, just the opposite would occur; the giver would cite its not-so-obvious merits, while the recipient would draw attention to the conspicuous shortcomings. In every trade the hosts always feel as though they had been over generous, and the guests, after they depart, complain that they had not received enough. The trade was conducted in an atmosphere of efficiency, with very little argumentation. The hosts had concealed their choicest items and vigorously denied having some goods, and the guests had done likewise—sinking their prize bows in a river before arriving at feast, for example, and bringing an inferior one along in case one of the hosts asked for it during the trading. As this was the first time in some years that the two groups feasted together, there was nothing for either one to repay. Instead, the visitors asked for items *no mnaiha*—to be repaid later—and the guests did the same.

Fig. 4-2. Guests drinking boiled ripe plantain soup at a feast; the trough is made from th[illegible] of a large tree, arapuri.

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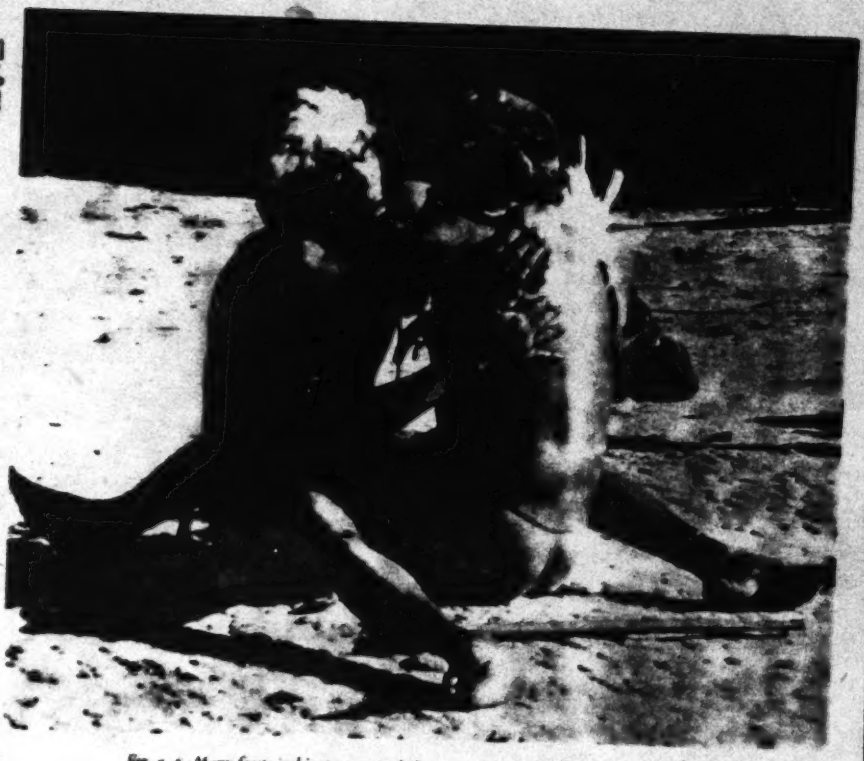

[57]

Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

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these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

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Fig. 5-2. Kaobawä's men and their allies lining up (wayu itou) *to raid the Patanowä-teri.*

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children and women died down and all was quiet in the village once again. I squatted there, unable to see what was going on, growing more nervous by the moment, half suspecting that the warriors were sneaking up on me to murder me for tape recording a sacred rite. Then the silence was broken when a single man began singing in a deep baritone voice: "I am meat hungry! I am meat hungry! Like the carrion-eating buzzard I hunger for flesh!" When he completed the last line, the rest of the raiders repeated his song, ending in an ear-piercing, high-pitched scream that raised goose bumps all over my arms and scalp. A second chorus, led by the same man, followed the scream. This one referred to meat hunger of the kind characteristic of a particular species of carnivorous wasp. They screamed again, becoming distinctly more enraged. On the third chorus, they referred again to the buzzard's meat hunger, and a few men simultaneously interjected such descriptions of their ferocity as: "I'm so fierce that when I shoot the enemy my arrow will strike with such force that blood will splash all over the material possessions in his household!"

Then the line of warriors broke, and the men gathered into a tight formation, weapons held above their heads. They shouted three times, beginning modestly and increasing their volume until they reached a climax at the end of the third shout: "Whaaaa! Whaaaa! WHAAAA!" They listened as the jungle echoed back their last shout, identified by them as the spirit of the enemy. They noted the direction from which the echo came. On hearing it, they pranced about frantically, hissed and groaned, waving their weapons, until Kaobawä calmed them down, and the shouting was repeated two more times. At the end of the third shout of the third repetition, the formation broke,

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 5–4. Blowing drugs (ebene) *on the pulverized bones of Damowã, slain Monou-teri headman.*

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[165]

located the enemy, but Paruriwã refused to go any further. When he turned back, so did the entire party.

The Monou-teri and Bisaasi-teri raided against the Patanowã-teri six times while I lived with them, and each time the preparations for the raid closely followed the description given above. The Monou-teri returned to their producing site only when the jungle was inundated; only at that time could they exist without the support of their allies. The remainder of the year they had to take refuge with members of allied villages or expose themselves to the risk of being attacked by superior forces by remaining in their own producing garden.

The Monou-teri also raided the Patanowã-teri without aid from their allies. One of the raids was conducted near the end of the rainy season, and I was staying in their village at the time the raid was held.

A special ceremony took place the day before the raid. The gourds containing the ashes of the slain Damowã were put on the ground in front of his brother's house.